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Message Text

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INRE-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 IO-10 L-03

NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 NSC-05 ERDE-00 NRC-05 /088 W
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O R 221740Z AUG 75
FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3206
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO USDEL MBFR VIENNA
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 USNATO 4465

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO, MBFR
SUBJECT: MBFR: SERVICE SUB-CEILINGS WITHIN A COMBINED AIR/GROUND COMMON CEILING

REF: A. USNATO 4359 DTG 151145Z AUG 75
B. STATE 198380 DTG 202326Z AUG 75

1. THERE FOLLOW REVISIONS TO THE WORKING GROUP STUDY ON SUB-CEILINGS THAT EMERGED FROM THE WG CONSIDERATION OF REF A ON AUGUST 21. THIS IS NOW BEING CIRCULATED AS A FINAL DOCUMENT.

2. THE CANADIAN REP (BARTLEMAN) SAID HIS AUTHORITIES ARE TROUBLED BY THE ADOPTION OF THE FIGURE OF 20,000 AS THE REQUIRED FLEXIBILITY ALLOWANCE IN SETTING SUB-CEILINGS. THEY BELIEVE THE DISCUSSION IN WG PAPER (AC/276-D(74)5) (PARA 44) IS MIS-REPRESENTED IN REF A IN SUCH WAY AS TO GIVE THE GIURE OF 20,000 FAR MORE AUTHORATIVE STATUS THAN IT DESREVES. THE STATE-
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MENT "IT COULD BE ARGUED...BEST MILITARY ANSWER" IS POORLY PLACEDIN THE PAPER AND TAKEN AT ITS FACE VALUE IT MEANS THERE IS LITTLE PURPOSE IN SUB-CEILINGS. THE FOLLOWING SENTENCE REFER-RING TO "MILITARY JUDGEMENT SUGGESTS" ALSO GIVES FURTHER STATUS

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TO THE FIGURE OF 20,000 WITHOUG INDICATING "WHOSE" MILITARY
JUDGEMENT. HIS AUTHORITIES COULD ACCEPT THE SENTENCE IF IT READ
"JUDGEMENT OF WORKING GROUP, SUGGESTS, THEREFORE, THAT IT WOULD
BE DESIRABLE FOR NATO TO RETAIN FLEXIBILITY TO TRANSFER
(FULL STOP)," THUS DELETING THE FIGURE WHICH CAUSES THEM DIF-
FICULTY.

3. THE UK REP (GERAHTY) REPLIED THAT HE HAD OFFERED THE
FIGURE OF 20,000 ON THE BASIS THAT THE UK MILITARY AUTHORITIES
JUDGED THAT THE UK MIGHT NEED AN ALLOWANCE OF 2,000 AS ITS
PRO-RATA SHARE OF THE LARGER FLEXIBILITY ALLOWANCE; EXTRA-
POLATING FROM THIS, THE UK ARRIVED AT 20,000 AS THE FIGURE THAT
MIGHT BE NEEDED BY NATO AS A WHOLE. HE SAID HIS AUTHORITIES
WOULD BE PLEASED IF THE OTHER ALLIES WOULD ALSO "DO THEIR
HOMEWORK" AND DEVELOP THEIR OWN FLEXIBILITY ALLOWANCE REQUIREMENTS.
NATO WOULD THEN DEVELOP A FIGURE THAT COULD BE DEFENDED MORE
EASILY AND MIGHT WELL BE SMALLER. IN THE ABSENCE OF SUCH NATIONAL
INPUTS, HOWEVER, THE UK AUTHORITIES STILL BELIEVE 20,000 TO BE
A REASONABLE FIGURE.

4. THE CANADIAN REP HAD TROUBLE INTERPRETING PARA 16 OF REF A.
SINCE THE CONCLUSIONS IN PARAS 17 AND 18 REST ON PARA 16,
HE REQUESTED THAT IT BE RE-DRAFTED TO BE MORE CLEAR.

5. THE UK REP FOUND THE "FINDINGS" IN PARA 31 OF REF A TO BE
INADEQUATE AND OFFERED THE RE-DRAFT BELOW FOR CONSIDERATION.

6. THE ACTING WG CHAIRMAN (BRANSON) SAID HE WILL CIRCULATE
THIS FINAL VERSION OF THE STUDY UNDER THE SILENCE PROCEDURE
FOR CLEARANCE BY COB ON SEPTEMBER 4. IF THERE ARE NO COMMENTS
PRIOR TO THAT DATE, THE STUDY WILL GO TO THE SPC, PROBABLY
ON SEPTEMBER 8. IF CLEARANCE IS NOT OBTAINED BY SEPTEMBER 4,
THE STUDY WILL BE PLACED ON THE AGENDA FOR THE
WG SESSION OF SEPTEMBER 9. (THE CANADIAN REP WAS STILL
PESSIMISTIC THAT HIS AUTHORITIES WOULD ACCEPT THE "20,000
MAN FLEXIBILITY ALLOWANCE" WITHOUG FURTHER SUBSTANTIATION.)

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7. ACTION REQUEST: REQUEST ANY COMMENTS OR GUIDANCE PRIOR
TO SEPTEMBER 4.

8. BEGIN TEXT OF REVISIONS:

A. PARAS 1 THROUGH 6: NO CHANGE.

B. PARA 7:
1. SECOND SENTENCE: DELETE WORD "COLLECTIVE" BETWEEN
"NUMERICAL" AND "CEILINGS."

2. THIRD SENTENCE: ADD WORD "PARTIALLY"BEFORE PHRASE
"REPLACE THE GROUND MANPOWER REDUCED."

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3. FOOTNOTE: DELETE FOOTNOTE AND MAKE FIRST SENTENCE OF FOOTNOTE LAST SENTENCE OF PARA 7 TO READ: "HOWEVER, THIS TOTAL FREEDOM IN PRACTICE WOULD BE CONSTRAINED FOR BOTH SIDES, BY THE PRACTICAL NECESSITY TO MAINTAIN THEIR AIR FORCES AT A LEVEL SUFFICIENT TO MEET COMMITMENTS."

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SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 NSC-05 ERDE-00 NRC-05 /088 W
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FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3207
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO USDEL MBFR VIENNA
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
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C. PARAS 8 THROUGH 11: NO CHANGE.

D. PARA 12: SECOND SENTENCE: DELETE PHRASE "...OF CONSIDERED MILITARY JUDGEMENT..." AND CHANGE "PROBABLY" TO "POSSIBLY."

E. PARA 13: ADD NEW LAST SENTENCE TO READ: "BUT FOR THE REASONS ALREADY DISCUSSED ABOVE (THIRD SENTENCE) THIS IS AN UNLIKELY CONSEQUENCE."

F. PARA 14: NEW PARA TO READ:

"14. ON BALANCE, HOWEVER, THE WORKING GROUP JUDGE THAT THERE COULD BE ADVANTAGES FOR NATO TO NEGOTIATE A FLEXIBILITY ALLOWANCE ON THE ORDER OF 20,000 MEN, EVEN IF, POST-MBFR, THIS WERE TO RESULT IN THE REINSTATEMENT IN THE NGA OF UP TO A DIVISION'S WORTH OF WP COMBAT UNITS AT THE EXPENSE OF WP AIR FORCES OR EQUIVALENT IMPROVEMENTS IN WP AIR CAPABILITY AT THE EXPENSE

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OF THEIR GROUND FORCES."

G. PARA 15:

1. CHANGE REFERENCE IN FIRST SENTENCE TO "SITCEN 2202" (WG STUDY ON FORCE DEFINITIONS -- SEPTEL).

2. TABLE: ADD "COMMON" BETWEEN "GROUND" AND "SUB-CEILING" UNDER REMARKS COLUMN ON SERIALS 3 AND 5.

H. PARA 16: NEW CHAPEAU AND SUB-PARA A. TO READ:

"16. IT IS APPARENT FROM THE ABOVE, IN THE EVENT OF REDEFINITION OF FORCES AS PROPOSED BY THE WP, THAT:

A. IF IT IS DECIDED THAT AIR MANPOWER, WITHOUT AIR REDUCTIONS, IS TO BE INCLUDED IN AN OVERALL AIR/GROUND COMMON CEILING SET AT ABOUT 900,000 (SERIAL 3 ABOVE) THERE CAN BE NO COMMON NUMERIC AIR OR GROUND SUB-CEILINGS (I.E. NATO GROUND 717,000, AIR 187,000 AND WP GROUND 672,000, AIR 232,000)."

I. PARAS 17 AND 18: NO CHANGE.

J. PARA 19: NEW CHAPEAU TO READ:

"19. A FACTOR WHICH IS RELEVANT TO THE SERVICE SUB-CEILING ISSUE IS THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE CAPABILITY OF NATO TO MONITOR AN MBFR AGREEMENT IN TERNS OF MANPOWER EXPRESSED, ONCE REDUCTIONS HAVE BEEN IMPLEMENTED. IF IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO NEGOTIATE AN AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD ALLOW THE DEPLOYMENT OF AN ALTERNATE VERIFICATION SYSTEM INCLUDING SUFFICIENT MOBILE TEAMS OF BOTH SIDES IN THE NGA, NATO'S CAPABILITY TO MONITOR RESIDUAL FORCE LEVELS WILL BE LARGELY DEPENDENT ON NATIONAL MEANS. IT IS SLAUTARY, THEREFORE, TO RECALL THE CONTENTS OF PAGES 8 TO 10 OF ANNEX E TO "THE US APPROACH TO MBFR" DATED 30 APRIL 1973, WHICH SETS OUT
THE CURRENT US MONITORING CAPABILITY. IN SUMMARY THE US PAPER SAYS:"

K. PARA 20: NEW PARA TO READ:

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"20. IT FOLLOWS THAT COVERT WP MAJOR (E.G. 10PCT) CIRCUMVENTION OF AN AGREEMENT WHICH INVOLVED MANPOWER REDUCTIONS COULD GO UNDETECTED BY NATO FOR A PERIOD OF A YEAR OR MORE; SMALLER AMOUNTS OF THE ORDER OF THE 20,000 MEN MENTIONED IN CONNECTION WITH THE FLEXIBILITY ISSUE MAY NOT BE DETENCED FAILING AGREEMENT ON A SYSTEM OF OVERT VERIFICATION, WITHIN THAT TIME FRAME,

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IF AT ALL."

L. PARA 21:

1. THIRD SENTENCE: ADD "PARTIALLY" BEFORE "TO REINSTATE ITS GROUND FORCE LEVELS."

2. FOURTH SENTENCE: AFTER "FIXED SUB-CEILINGS", ADD "ON BOTH GROUND AND AIR MANPOWER LEVELS."

3. BETWEEN FOURTH AND FIFTH SENTENCES, ADD NEW SENTENCE TO READ:

"A FIXED SUB-CEILING ON GROUND FORCE MANPOWER ALONE WOULD NOT NECESSARILY CONSTRAIN, POST-MBFR THE REINSTATEMENT OF WITH-DRAWN OR REDUCED COMBAT UNITS SINCE IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO TRANSFER A FURRENT GROUND FORCE FUNCTION (E.G. ARMY AVIATION) TO THE AIR FORCE AT THE EXPENSE OF AN EXISTING AIR FORCE FUNCTION AND TO USE THE GROUND FORCE MANPOWER SAVED THEREBY TO INTRODUCE, SAY AN EXTRA DIVISION: THE ONLY WAY TO CLOSE SUCH A LOOP-HOLE WOULD BE THE NEGOTIATION OF A COMPREHENSIVE NON-CIRCUMVENTION ARRANGEMENT."

4. LAST SENTENCE: CHANGE "COULD" TO "SHOULD".

5. SUB-PARA A: CHANGE TO READ: "NUMERIC SUB-CEILINGS."

M. PARA 22: CHANGE SECOND SENTENCE TO READ: "A DE FACTO IF NOT DE JURE CEILING ON GROUND FORCE MANPOWER WOULD RESULT FROM IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREED GROUND FORCE REDUCTIONS."

N. PARA 23: CHANGE "NON-EXPLICIT SUB-CEILINGS" TO "NUMERIC SUB-CEILINGS" IN BOTH SENTENCES AND ADD WORD "PERMITTED" TO END OF SENTENCE.

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O. PARA 24: CHANGE TO READ:

"24. THE NUMERIC SUB-CEILING APPROACH COUPLED WITH A NON-CIRCUMVENTION CLAUSE AS ENVISAGED ABOVE MIGHT PROVIDE THE EAST WITH OPPORTUNITY TO OBJECT TO TRIVIAL ALLIED FORCE CHANGES, BUT THIS POSSIBILITY WOULD EXIST WHATEVER TYPE OF SUB-CEILING ARRANGEMENTS WERE NEGOTIATED."

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SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 NSC-05 ERDE-00 NRC-05 /088 W
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FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3208
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
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P. BEFORE PARA 25: ADD NEW SUB-HEADING, "OTHER APPROACHES".

Q. PARAS 25 THROUGH 28: NO CHANGE.

R. PARA 29: SECOND SENTENCE: ADD "NOT BE PERMITTED TO" BEFORE "EXCEED."

S. PARA 30: CHANGE TO READ:

"30. THE EFFECTS AND IMPLICATIONS OF THIS ARRANGEMENT IN MILITARY/TECHNICAL TERMS WOULD BE SIMILAR IN MANY WAYS TO THOSE DISCUSSED FOR THE EXPLICIT NUMERIC SUB-CEILINGS WITH A FLEXIBILITY ALLOWANCE, AT PARAGRAPHS 26 AND 29 ABOVE, BUT THE ARRANGEMENTS WOULD BE EVEN MORE DIFFICULT TO MONITOR EFFECTIVELY."

T. PARA 31: CHANGE TO READ:

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31. THE WORKING GROUP CONSIDER THAT:

A. ONE OF NATO'S AIMS IS THAT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PHASE II REDUCTIONS SHOULD ENSURE THAT THE FURRENT DISPARITY IN TERMS OF GROUND FORCE COMBAT FORMATIONS IN FAVOUR OF THE WP SHOULD HAVE BEEN DECREASED SIGNIFICANTLY: THIS SHOULD BE BORNE IN MIND WHEN POSSIBLE MODIFICATIONS TO THE ALLIANCE PROPOSALS ARE DISCUSSED WITHIN NATO.

B. THERE COULD BE ADVANTAGES FOR NATO TO NEGOTIATE A FLEXIBILITY ALLOWANCE OF THE ORDER OF SAY 20,000 MEN EVEN IF

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THIS WERE TO RESULT, POST-MBFR, IN THE REINSTATEMENT OF UP TO
A DIVISION'S WORTH OF WP COMBAT UNITS AT THE EXPENSE OF WP AIR
FORCES, OR EQUIVALENT IMPROVEMENTS IN WP AIR CAPABILITY AT THE
EXPENSE OF THEIR GROUND FORCES.

C. IF THE ALLIANCE WERE TO ACCEPT A REDEFINITION OF FORCES
IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE WP PROPOSALS, IT WOULD NOT BE PRACTICABLE
TECHNICALLY TO INCLUDE AIR MANPOWER WITHIN AN OVERALL GROUND/AIR
COMMON CEILING WITHOUT ADDRESSING AIR FORCE MANPOWER FOR RE-
DUCTIONS, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME DEMANDING EXPLICIT NUMERIC COMMON
SUB-CEILINGS ON GROUND FORCE MANPOWER AT 7-7,000, UNLESS THE
OVERALL AIR/GROUND COMMON CEILING WAS SET AS HIGH AS 950,000
(USING CURRENT NATO DATA).

D. IF NATO WERE TO HAVE TO RLY ON NATIONAL MEANS ALONE TO
MONITOR RESIDUAL FORCE LEVELS, COVERT WP MAJOR (E.G. 10PCT)
CIRCUMVENTION OF AN AGREEMENT WHICH INVOLVED MANPOWER REDUCTIONS
COULD GO UNDETECTED BY NATO FOR A PERIOD OF A YEAR OR MORE.
SMALLER AMOUNTS OF THE ORDER OF 20,000 MEN MENTIONED IN CONNECTION
WITH THE FLEXIBILITY ALLOWANCE (SEE B. ABOVE) MIGHT NOT BE
DETECTED WITHIN THAT TIME FRAME, IF AT ALL. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCE
EFFECTIVE NATO DETECTION OF ANY TYPE OF CEILING (OR SUB-CEILING)
INVOLVING MANPOWER ALONE OR OF ANY FLEXIBILITY ARRANGEMENT
MIGHT NOT BE PRACTICABLE WITHIN A PERIOD OF A YEAR,
OR EVEN LONGER.

E. AN AGREEMENT WHICH DID NOT IMPOSE FIXED SUB-CEILINGS
ON THE WP, POST-MBFR, WITHIN AN OVERALL AIR/GROUND COMMON
MANPOWER CEILING, COULD ENABLE THE WP PARTIALLY TO REINSTATE
THEIR GROUND FORCE LEVELS AT THE EXPENSE OF AIR MANPOWER (OR
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VICE VERSA). FIXED SUB-CEILINGS ON BOTH GROUND AND AIR FORCE
MANPOWER LEVELS COULD CONSTRAIN SUCH ACTION AT LEAST WITHIN THE
ALLIANCE'S VERIFICATION CAPABILITY, BUT WOULD HAVE TO BE RECIPROCAL.
A FIXED CEILING ON GROUND FORCE MANPOWER ALONE, OR A NUMERIC
SUB-CEILING ON GROUND FORCE MANPOWER WITHIN AN OVERALL AIR/GROUND
MANPOWER, WOULD NOT NECESSAIRLY CONSTRAIN THE WP FROM PAR-
TIALLY REINSTATING COMBAT UNIT REDUCTIONS THROUGH TRANS-
FERRING OTHER GROUND FORCE FUNCTIONS (E.G. ARMY AVIATION)
TO THE AIR FORCES, UNLESS IT WAS ACCOMPANIED BY A COMPREHENSIVE
NON-CIRCUMVENTION ARRANGEMENT.

F. IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO DRAW UP AN ARRANGEMENT WHEREBY
THERE WOULD OBLY BE A DE FACTO COMMON SUB-CEILING ON GROUND
FORCES WITHIN AN EXPLICIT, NUMERIC OVERALL GROUND/AIR COMMON
CEILING. THIS COULD BE MONITORED, USING NATIONAL MEANS ALONE,
NO MORE OR LESS EFFECTIVELY THAN IN ARRANGEMENT UNDER WHICH THERE
WAS AN EXPLICIT NUMERIC COMMON GROUND FORCE CEILING. IT SHOULD
BE POSSIBLE TO BUILD-IN AN ARRANGEMENT TO PROVIDE SOME DEFREE
OF FLEXIBILITY FOR EITHER SIDE TO TRANSFER MANPOWER FROM GROUND
TO AIR OR VICE VERSA WITHOUT INCREASING SIGNIFICANTLY THE VERIF-

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ICATION PROBLEMS FOR NATO.

G. FIXED SUB-CEILINGS ON GROUND FORCE OR AIR FORCE MANPOWER OR BOTH WOULD BE SIMPLER TO MONITOR THAN WOULD AN ARRANGEMENT WHICH ALLOWED OVERLAPPING SUBCEILINGS. IT WOULD BE TECHNICALLY POSSIBLE TO BUILD-IN A FLEXIBILITY ALLOWANCE TO ANY TYPE OF CEILING (OR SUB-CEILING) ARRANGEMENT WHICH WAS NEGOTIATED. EFFECTIVE NATO MONIRORING OF FIXED MANPOWER SUB-CEILINGS, POST-MBFR, COULD BE AS DIFFICULT TO MONITOR EFFECTIVELY, USING NATIONAL MEANS ALONE, WITHIN A PERIOD OF A YEAR OR SO, AS WOULD THE ARRANGEMENTS OUTLINED IN SUB-PARAGRAPH F. ABOVE.
END TEXT OF REVISIONS.
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